THE USURPATION IN TENNESSEE

The following is a copy of a protest which on Saturday last was submitted to the President of the United States by John Lellyett, Esq., of Nashville, Tennessee, (one of its signers,)'in behalf of the loyal citizens of Tennessee, whom the Hon. Andrew Johnson, the Military Governor of that State and the Republican candidate for the Vice Presidency, has sought to disfranchise by a proclamation issued on the 30th of September last:

To his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the

To his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

Sig: The undersigned, loyal citizens of the United States and of the State of Tennessee, on our own behalf and on behalf the loyal people of our State, ask leave to submit this protest against the proclamation of his Excellency, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor, ordering an election to be held for President and Vice President, under carrier president and restrictions therein set forth der certain regulations and restrictions therein set forth. A printed copy of said proclamation is herewith enclosed.

The Constitution of the United States provides that euch State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors," &c. Under this provision of the Federal Constitution, the Legislature of Tennessee, years before the present rebellion, prescribed the mode of election to be observed, which will be found to differ essentially from the mode prescribed by the Military Governor. We herewith enclose a copy the law of Tennessee governing the holding of said election.

The Mintary Governor expressly assumes, by virtue of authority derived from the President, so to alter and amend the election law of Tennessee (enacted under au-thority of the Constitution of the United States, as above set forth) as to make the same conform to his own edict as set forth in the proc'amation aforesaid. He assumes so to medify our law as to admit persons to vote at the said election who are not entitled to vote under the law and the Constitution of Tennessee. Instance this: our Constitution and law require that each voter shall be a citizen of the county wherein he may offer his vote for six months next preceding the day of election;" while the Governor's order only requires that he shall (with other qualifications named) be a citizen of Tennessee for six months, &c. This prevision would admit to vote many persons not entitled by law.

We will, for the sake of brevity, pass over some less in portant points of conflict between the proclamation and the law, but will instance in this place another. By our law it is provided that the polls shall be opened in every mation provides only for their being opened at one place in each county. This provision would put it out of the power of many legal voters to exercise the elective franchise We solemnly protest against these infringements of our

law, conflicting as they do with the very letter of the Federal Constitution, because they are without authority, and because they will prevent a free, fair, and true expression of the will of the loyal people of Tennessee.

But we protest still more emphatically against the mos unusual and impracticable test oath which it is proposed to

require of all citizen voters in Tennessee.

[The oath is as follows: "I solemnly swear that I will henceforth support the Constitution of the United States, and defend it sgainst the assaults of all enemies; that I am an active friend of the Government of the United States, and the enemy of the called Confederate States; that I ardently desire the suppression of the present rebellion against the Gor-ernment of the United States; that I sincerely rejoice in the triumph of the armies and navies of the United States, and in the defeat and overthrow of the armies, navies, and of all armed combinations in the interest of the so-called Confederate States; that I will cordially oppose all armis-tics or negotiations for peace with rebels in arms, until the Constitution of the United States, and all laws and proclamations made in pursuance thereof, shall be established or r all the people of every State and Territory embraced within the national Union, and that I will heartily aid and assist the loyal people in whatever measures may be adoptent of these ends; and further, that I take this oath freely and voluntarily and without mental reservation. So help me God."]
A citizen, qualified to vote, and whose loyalty cannot be

"disproved by other testimony," is to be required to swear, first, that he "will henceforth support the Constitution of United States, and defend it against all enemies. This obligation we are willing to renew daily. But this is not yet deemed a sufficient test of loyalty. He is required way?" to make onth and subscribe to a mass of vain repetitions concerning his activity as a friend of the Union and the enemy of its enemies—concerning his desires, his hopes, and fears—and that he finds it in his heart to rejoice over the scenes of blood, and of wounds, of anguish and death, wherein his friends, his kindred, his loved ones are slain, or maimed, or made prisoners of war—whereby the land of his birth or adoption is made desolate, and lamentation and mourning are spread over the whole nation. While all the civilized world stands aghast in contemplation of the unequalled horrors of our tremendous strife, the citizen of Tennessee is called upon by her Military Governor. under your authority, to swear that in these things he finds occasion to rejoice! As if this were still not enough, the And no citizen is further required to swear to the indefinite pro-longation of this war, as follows: "That I will cordially oppose all armistices or negotiations for peace with rebels in arms until the Constitution of the United States, and all laws and proclamations made in pursuance thereof, shall be established over all the people of every State and Territory embraced within the National Union;" until (in brief) the war shall be at an end. Now, we freely avow to your Excellency, and to the world, that we earnestly desire the return of peace and good will to our now un-happy country; that we seek neither pleasure, profit, nor in the perpetuation of war; that we should feel bound as Christians, as patriots, and as civil zed men—that we are bound by the oaths we have taken-to countenance and encourage any negotiations which may be entered into authorities with the intent to restore peace and union under the Constitution we have sworn to support and defend. We should be traitors to our country false to our oaths—false, indeed, to the primary clause of the oath we are now discussing, to oppose such negotia-tions. We cannot consent to swear at the ballot-box a war of extermination against our countrymen and kindred or to prolong by our opposition, for a single day after it can be brought to an honorable and lawful conclusion, a contest the most sanguinary and ruinous that has scourged

You will not have forgotten that in the month of July last you issued the following proclamation:

Washington, July 18, 1864.

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substatistical and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

This is certainly a proposition to treat with rebels in arms—with their chiefs. Are we now to understand by this proclamation of one acting under your authority, and himself a candidate with you for the second office, that even the above proposition is withdrawn—that you will henceforth have no negotiations upon any terms but unre-lenting war to the bitter end? Or are we to understand that while you hold this proposition open, or yourself free to act as your judgment may dictate, we, the citizens of Tennessee, shall swear to OPPose your negotiations?

In the next breath, the voter who has already been thus far qualified is required to swear that he will "heartily aid and saist the loyal people in whatever measures may be adepted for the attainment of these ends." Adopted by whom! The oath does not say. We cannot tell what measures may be adopted. We cannot comment upon the absurdity of the obligation here imposed without danger of departing from that of departing from that respectful propriety of language which we desire to preserve in addressing the Chief Megis-trate of the American people. But this is the clause of an oath which the candidate for the Vice Presidency requires at the lips of the loyal and qualified voters of Tennessee, before these citizens shall be allowed to vote for or against

before these citizens shall be allowed to vote for or against you and himself at the coming election!

For these reasons, and others which for the sake of brevily we omit, we solemnly protest against the interference of the Military Governor with the freedom of the elective franchise in Tennessee. We deny his authority and yours to alter, amend, or annul any law of Tennessee. We demand that Tennessee be allowed to appoint her electors as expressly provided by the Federal Constitut which you have sworn to support, protect, and defend, it the manner which the Legislature thereof has prescribed And to that end we respectfully demand of you, as the principal under whose authority to is order has been issued, that the same shall be revoked. We ask that all military interference shall be withdrawn so far as to allow to the loya men of Tennessee a full and free election. By the loya men of Tennessee we mean those who have not partici-

issued a proclamation declaring that "a full p rdon is hereby granted," "with restoration of all rights of property," &c. to each of our citizens having participated, directly or by

M. A. S. Marian

would state that many of our citizens have complied in good faith with the terms of amnesty proposed in your proclamation aforesaid, and are therefore, by reason of the full pardon granted them, fully entitled to vote and exercise all other rights belonging to loyal citizens, without terms indicance; and we reasonatefully appeal to your biodrance; and we reasonatefully appeal to your process. or hindrance; and we respectfully appeal to you, as Pre-sident of the United States, to make good your promise of pardon to these citizens by the removal of all other and further hindrance to their exercise of the elective fran-

But if it be claimed upon the plea of military necessity that guards and restrictions shall be thrown around the ballot-box in Tennessee, we still ask the withdrawal of the proclamation of the Military Governor, because the conditions thereby imposed upon the loyal men of Tennes see as a qualification for voters are irrelevant, unreasons ble, and not in any sense a test of loyalty. But they pledge ble, and not in any sense a test of loyalty. But they pledge
the citizen to oppose the lawful authorities in the discharge
of their duty. The oath required is only calculated to keep
legal and rightful voters from the polls. We suggest that
no oath be required but such as is prescribed by law. Our
people will not hesitate, however, to take the usual oath
of loyalty—for example, in the language of the primary
clause of the oath in question: "That I will henceforth
support the Constitution of the United States, and defend
it against the assaults of its enemies." Denying your It against the assaults of its enemies." Denying your right to make any departure from the law in the case, we shall, however, feel no hardship in this.

The Convention to which Gov. Johnson refers was mere partisan meeting, having no authority, and not representing the loyal men of Tennessee in any sense.

The names of the signers of this protest have been placed

before the people of Tennessee as candidates for Electors, who, if chosen, are expected to cast the electoral voice of Tennessee for George B. McClellan for President and George H. Pendleton for Vice President. By virtue of such position it becomes our province especially to appea before you in the attitude we do. We are aware that grave questions may arise, in any event, with regard to the regularity of the vote of Tennessee, in consequence of the partially disorganized condition of the State. The friends of your re-election, however, announced an electoral ticket, and the public became aware that preparations were being made for the holding of the election, leaving that matter no longer a question. Some time thereafter our electoral ticket was placed before the public, and within a few days followed the proclamation complained of. We, for our selves and those we represent, are willing to leave al questions involving the right of Tennessee to participate in the election to the decision of competent authority. WM. B. CAMPBELL, of Wilson county.

THOS. A. R. NELSON, of Washington co. JAS. T. P. CARTER, of Carter county.

JOHN WILLIAMS, of Knox county.

A. BLIZARD, of McMinn county. HENRY COOPER, of Bedford county. BAILIE PEYTON, of Sumner county.

JOHN LELLYETT, of Davidson county. EM. ETHERIDGE, of Weakly county. JOHN D. PERRYMAN, of Shelby county.

After the foregoing paper had been read, a brief colloquy ensued between the President and Mr Lellyett, as described in the following communication :] WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 15, 1864.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer. I called upon the President to-day and presented as read to him the above Protest. Having concluded, Mr. Lincoln responded: "May I inquire how long it too

you and the New York politicians to concoct that paper? I replied: "It was concocted in Nashville, without mmunication with any but Tennesseans. We commu nicated with citizens of Tennessee outside of Nashville but not with New York politicians."

"I will answer," said Mr. Lincoln, emphatically, "tha I expect to let the friends of George B. McClellan manage their side of this contest in their own way; and I will manage my side of it in my way."

"May we ask an answer in writing?" I suggested. "Not now. Lay those papers down here. I will give no other answer now. I may or may not write something about this hereafter. I understand this. I know you intend to make a point of this. But go shead. You have my answer."

"Your answer then is that you expect to let Gen McClellan's friends manage their side of this contest in their own way, and you will manage your side of it in your

us a hearing at all, and took my leave.

Judge Mason of this city was present at the interview o whom I refer in regard to the correctness of this report. On stepping outside the door of the Executive Mansion I immediately wrote down the President's emphatic response and submitted it to Judge Mason and another gentleman who happened to be present, and they both pronounced it

United States, who are or ought to be the masters of Abraham Lincoln. The paper which I had the honor to present to the President is not the "concoction of New York politicians," however that might affect its merits. It is the solemn voice of a once free and proud people, protesting against their own disfranchisement by the agent of Abraham Lincoln. It is the voice of those loyal men in Tennessee who have borne the reproach of a people they still loved, supporting the President in all lawful efforts to preserve the Union. The reward of our loyalty is disfranchisement. The cup of perjury is commended to our lips because it is known that we will not touch its contents. Judge ye between the people of Tennessee and Abraham Lincoln. It may be meet that our solemn and respectful appeal should be thrown aside with a contemptuous sneer, Look to it. If you, the people of the Northern States, shall sustain this act of tyranny, your own time will soon come. If the President of the United States may "manage his side of this contest" by setting aside the very letter of the Constitution and altering the elective laws of the States so as to disfranchise his opponents, liberty is al-JOHN LELLYETT.

[The Hon. CHARLES MASON, having accompanied Mr. Lellyett in his visit to the President, and having been present at the interview accorded to Mr. Lellyett, has been called by the latter in the following note to authenticate his report of the conversation had with the President. The reply of Mr. Mason is also appended.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 15, 1864. Hon. CHAS. MASON-DEAR SIR: I submit to your inspection what I have written in reference to my interview with the President to-day, and will ask you to state if you

regard the same as an accurate report. Respectfully. JOHN LELLYETT.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 15, 1864. JOHN LELLVETT, Esq -- DEAR SIR: In compliance with the request in your note of this day, I have only to say that I was present at the interview referred to. Your of the rebellion would have been compelled to contend not statement of what took place is substantially correct; and only with our armies, but with what is more potent than on all material points I believe it literally so.

CHAS. MASON Yours, truly.

INJURY TO THE TORACCO CROP .- On Sunday night last we were visited with a heavy frost in this locality, and the tobacco crop of the county has been badly damaged. Not more than one-fourth of the crop is supposed to have been housed at the time, and the loss will consequently be very severe. The crop for the present year is very small, but such is the scarcity of labor here our farmers were unable to save it from the frost. The aggregate loss in the county from Sunday night's trost is estimated at \$50,000. This is but the beginning of the promised advantages of a free labor system, and we commend it to the attention of all who have the real interest of the State at heart.

[St. Mary's (Md.) Gazette.

The facts concerning a heavy robbery of unsigned notes of the "First National Bank of North Bennington, Vernont," have just come to light through the arrest of one Thomas Cummings, a waiter at the Astor House. It appears that in April last Mr. T. W. Park, the President of men of Tennessee we mean those who have not participated in the rebellion, or given it aid and comfort; or who may have complied with such terms of amnesty as have been offered them under your authority.

On the Sth day of December, 1863, you as President, issued a proclamation declaring that "a full p rdon ishereby granted," "with restoration of all rights of property," &c. to each of our citizens having participated, directly or by

would state that many of our citizens have complied in TIONAL COMMITTEE

To the Friends of Union, Liberty, and Law.

Under the call of the National Committee, Convention were held at Cincinnati and at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in December last, at which the name of GEO. B McCLELLAN was presented to the country as a candidate for the Presidency, and following which mass meetings of the people, unprecedented in numbers and enthusiasm, were held in ratification of the choice. On the 28th of August last a National Convention was held at Chicago, consisting of delegates of conservative men from thirty-two States, and which was large in numbers and characterized by the ability and counsels of men who were co-laborers with Jackson, Webster, Clay, and Crittenden. The following resolution, among others, was adopted:

" Resolved, That we concur in the action of the Conse vative National Convention held at Independence Hall, it the city of Philadelphia, on the 24th day of December last and, reiterating the nomination by the people of General Geo. B. McClellan, we respectfully recommend to the consideration of the Democratic National Convention his name as that of the most suitable person now before the people, believing that his triumphant election is certain. and will result in an early and honorable peace, with the restoration of the Government; and, in case of his nomination for the Presidency by that body, we pledge the united and cordial support of the conservative men of the country to their State electoral ticket."

The resolutions of the Convention were formally presented and read to the Democratic Convention, and at the mention of the name of McClellan the whole body, with the vast assemblage of people, through prolonged cheers, gave abundant expression to the conviction that the hopes of the country were centred in his nomination and election. The Democratic Convention nominated him for the Presidency, and all directly connected with this organization stand pledged to his support.

The choice is between George B. McClellan and Abraham Lincoln. The former has shown himself possessed of the first order of ability as a soldier and statesman, and is ardently devoted to the Union and the resteration of the authority of the Constitution. His every day life is adorned by the promptings of sterling integrity and common sense, and is marked by the characteristics of a true Christian gentleman. The latter has proved himself wholly unfit for the high statien he now holds, and, viewing his public acts in the light of the Constitution, it becomes a serious question as to the extent of acquiescence men can yield in his re-election. It has been truly alleged that there is not an intelligent man in America who believes him fit for the Presidency of this Republic. Previous to the Baltimore Convention prominent men of his own party asserted and published their convictions that the Government could not safely be reintrusted to his hands. While the people have proved their willingness to respond to every necessay call for men and means to suppress the rebellion, he has declared his intention to change the character of the war from the single object of upholding the Government to that of a direct interference with the domestic institutions of States. He has suppressed the freedom of elections in the Border States by taking military possession of the polle. He has stricken down the freedom of the press where rebellion did not exist. By the intentional destruction of the Peninsular campaign, by despotic assumptions under the specious plea of " military necessity," by a refusal to listen to terms of peace upon the simple basis of the Union and the Constitution, and by the prostitution of all the powers of the Government to the base purpose of forcibly securing his own re-election, he has united the Southern people in rebellion, and aliensted the heart of the Northern masses, nore necessary now than ever before in maintaining the dignity and rightful power of the Government. -

In view of all that is transpiring, while our noble Generals and brave soldiers are battling against the armed forces of secession in the field, we have the right to demand that the army shall not be used to interfere with the right of suffrage as regulated by the States, and that the Executive shall not supersede the great principles on which the Government was founded by the corruptions and fanaticisms of his party. As freemen our duty is clear. Hold-Yes."

I then thanked the President for his courtesy in giving of the war, it becomes the paramount duty of the people to abondon all controversies and prepare to maintain their liberties by protecting the ballot-box, and, through the ballot-box, by electing a President who will abide by the Constitution as his only source of authority, civil and military, and the supreme law of the land-one who, with dignity of character, magnanimity of soul, and a full comprehension of the great issues to be decided, will maintain the mity and integrity of the Government, and elevate our nation to the highest rank among the nations of the earth.

Such a man is George B. McClellan. Standing forth as the choice of the people, and the nominee of the Democratic party, he embedies the high and holy principles of constitutional liberty. His name is more securely enshriped in the popular heart than that of any other man, and his record is spotless and pure. As between him and Mr. Lincoln let the lines be fairly drawn. Those who are in favor of abandoning the policy of the Administration, and thus rendering peace and reunion possible, who are in favor of free suffrage, free speech, a free press, the habeas orpus with trial by jury; of maintaining the Constitution and the Government bequeathed to us by Washington and the fathers of the Republic; those who are ready to contend manfully for the rights of freemen, and are determined to abide by the will of the majority, as fairly expressed through the ballot-box will support McClellan. Those who are in favor of allowing the President to override the Constitution, and trample upon our liberties under the plea of "military necessity," of an indefinite increase of national debt and taxation, with an unlimited expansion of paper currency, of permitting the Government to be controlled by contractors, of changing the war for the Union to a war for forcible emancipation, confiscation, and miscegenation, and of another conscription imnediately after election, with the unnecessary sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Northern lives, will vote for

The members of the National Committee, in making their appeal for the support of McClellan, are actuated colely by a desire to save the country from the horrors of disunion, financial ruin, anarchy, and foreign intervention, which are sure to follow with the continuance of Mr. Lincoln's policy. They are patriotically devoted to the Union, and opposed alike to the doctrines of the secessionists on the one side and those of the destructive radicals on the other. They hold that if the present Administration had administered the Government in accordance with the Constitution, and in the spirit of its founders, instead of adopting a policy at once sectional, barbarous, and subversive of the fundamental principles of the Government, the leaders the fundamental principles of the Government, the leaders war began. This cheers the heart, and towards it I could alwards on the control of the first ray of light I have seen from the North since the war began. This cheers the heart, and towards it I could alwards it armies, an inborn love of the old Union on the part of the people of the South; and the rebellion would have been crushed and peace restored before a single year could have passed. In this light, they believe that the war is being unnecessarily prolonged; for if it is possible to weaken the rebellion, and destroy the unity between its leaders and the people, by assuring the latter that the North wants nothing more than the re establishment of the Government on the basis of the Constitution-to withhold such assurance, to refuse the terms of the Constitution, and instead to proclaim the dogmas of radicalism with negro equality. social and political, and thereby uniting the whole South in rebellion, is a crime against the civilization of the age. and will continue, as it has done, to deluge the country in blood and suffering, and end in disunion and deepotism. They regard the rebellion as consisting of two elementsthe secessionists who are fighting for the establishment of a separate Government, and those who are supporting the rebellion not from any respect to the Confederacy, but from

issued a proclamation deciaring that "a full p roton is hereby granted," "with restoration of all rights of property," ac. to each of our citizens having participated, directly or by implication, in the existing rebellion, (with certain exceptions)," upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an ceata, and the certain said oath inviolate." And it is further provided in the proclamation aforesaid that in the programation of a State government in Tennessee, or earth other States named, the persons having taken the certain other States named, the persons having taken the continued to a charge of the subscribe of the subscribed of t

It is said we are not to have a free election in November. Already in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maryland, men not agreeing with Mr. Lincoln's views have been refused the maintenance of liberty in all ages, times, and countries, when and where it has existed, has required not only the rights of depositing their ballots. While we would counsel ferbearance to the last, there is a time when forbearance ceases to be a virtue. On this subject, it is enough to say the American people will never submit to be deprived of the unrestrained right to choose their own rulers in the forms prescribed by their States respectively.

In conclusion, the Committee would impress upon all conservative men throughout the country the importance of devoting their time on election day, from the opening to the close of the polls, in the work of securing the votes of the timid, the doubtful, and the infirm. By this means we can secure the balance of power, and elect the standardbearer of the people—George B. McClellan.

AMOS KENDALL, (D. C.) Pres. Nat Com. R. W. ROBINSON, (Mass.) Treasurer.

Special Committee WM. B. CAMPELL, Tenn. JNO. H. JAMES, Obio. A. B. NORTON, Texas. J. P. FAUROT, N: Y. HAMILTON POPE, KV. J. L. NOYES, N. Y. D. H. PINNEY, Ill. R. F. STEVENS, (N. Y.) National Secretary.

THE PEACE QUESTION IN GEORGIA.

VIEWS OF MR. STEPHENS.

Some of our Northern contemporaries have received North Carolina papers of the 4th instant. They announce that a letter was hourly expected from the Vice President of the Confederacy defining his position on the question of peace. They also contain the following statement:

"Vice President Stephens has told gentlemen in Raleigh that his views incline strongly to an immediate effort for peace by negotiation Mr. Stephens is represented as saying that he thought the time had come for the people of the South to make known to those of the North, especially the peace party of that section, that they are ready to settle upon the sovereignty of the States, and to restore the old Government, should the North guaranty the right of property, and the majority of the people so declare The gentleman who furnishes the news is a man of high character. He saw and conversed with the Vice Pres dent, and would not be likely to misrepresent; and yet there are many who can hardly credit the story. Mr. Stephens has written a letter for publication, and the mat ter will soon be put at rest."

Simultaneously with the receipt of the above intelligence, we received also the promised letter of Mr. STE PHENS. It discusses the peace question calmly and dispassionately, and cannot fail to interest many of our read-We insert it entire:

CRAWFORDSVILLE, (GEORGIA,) SEPT. 22, 1864. GENTLEMEN: You will please excuse me for not answering your letter of the 14th instant sooner. I have been absent nearly a week on a visit to my brother in Sparta, who has been quite out of health for some time. Your letter I found here on my return home yesterday. The delay of my reply thus occasioned I regret.

Without further explanation or apology allow me now to say to you that no person living can possibly feel a more ardent desire for an end to be put to this unnatural and merciless war upon honorable and just terms than I do. But I really do not see that it is in my power or yours, or that of any number of persons in our position, to inaugurate any movement that will even tend to aid in bringing about a result that we and so many more desire. The movement by our Legislature at its last session, at

the suggestion of the Executive, on this subject, was by authority properly constituted for such a purpose. That movement, in my judgment, was timely, judicious, and in movement, in my judgment, was timely, judicious, and in the right direction. Nor has it been without results. The organization of that party at the North to which you refer may justly be claimed as a part of the fruits of it. These, it is to be hoped, will be followed by others of a more sire peace upon correct terms will give that movement thus naugurated all the aid in their power. The resolutions of the Georgia Legislature, at its last

seasion, upon the subject of peace, in my judgment, embo-died and set forth very clearly those principles upon which alone there can be permanent peace between the different sections of this extensive, once happy and prosperous, but

now distracted country.

Easy and perfect solutions to all present troubles, and those far more grievous ones which loom in prospect, and

portentously threaten is the coming future, is nothing more than the simple recognition of the fundamental principle and truth upon which all American constitutional liberty is founded, and upon the maintenance of which alone it can be preserved—that is, the sovereignty, the ultimate, absolute sovereignty, of the States. This doctrine our Legislature announced to the people at the North and to the world. It is the only key-note to peace—permanent, lasting peace—consistent with the security of the public liberty.

The old Confederation was formed upon this principle. The old Union was afterwards formed upon this principle. No league can ever be formed or maintained between any

State, North or South, securing public liberty, upon any other principle. The whole framework of American inions, which in so short a time had wen the admiration of the world, and to which we were indebted for such an formed upon this principle. All our presprung from a departure from this principle, from a violation of this essential law of our political organization.

In 1776 our ancestors and the ancestors of those who

are waging this unboly crusade against us together proclaimed the great and eternal truth for the maintenance of which they jointly pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred bonor, that Governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of govern-ment becomes destructive of those ends for which it was formed, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such a form as to them may seem most likely to effect their safety and

happiness.

It is needless here to state that by "people" and "governed," in this annunciation, is meant communities and bodies of men capable of organizing and maintaining a Government, not individual members of society. The con-sent of the governed refers to the will of the mass of the community or State in its organized form, and expressed through its legitimate and properly constituted organs. It was upon this principle the Colonists stood justified before the world in effecting their separation from the mother country. It was upon this principle that the original thirteen co-equal and co-sovereign States formed the Federal compact of the old Union in 1787. It is upon the same principle that the present co-equal and co-severeign States of our Confederacy formed their new compact of Union. The idea that the old Union or any Union between sov-

ereign States, consistently with this fundamental truth, can be maintained by force is preposterous. This war springs from an attempt to do this preposterous thing. Superior power may compel a Union of some sort, but it would not be the Union of the old Constitution or of our new. It would be that sort of Union that results from despotism.

The subjugation of the people of the South by the people of the North would necessarily involve the destruction well as ours. The men or party at the North, to whom you refer, who favor peace, must be brought to a full re-alization of this truth in all its bearings before their efforts will result in much practical good. Any peace growing out of a union of States established by force will be as ruinous to them as to us.

The action of the Chicago Convention, so far as its platform of principles goes, presents, as I have said on another occasion, a ray of light, which, under Providence, most exclaim, "Hail, holy light, offspring of Heaven, first born of the eternal coeternal beam. May I express thee unblamed, since God is light." Indeed, I could have quite so exclaimed, but for the sad reflection that whether it shall bring healing in its beams or be lost in a dark and ominous eclipse ere its good work be done, depends so much upon the action of others who may not regard it and tremulous ray, enough only to gladden the heart and quick-

en the hope.

The prominent and leading idea of that Convention The prominent and leading idea of that Convention seems to have been a desire to reach a peaceful adjustment of our present difficulties and strife through the medium of a convocation of the States. They propose to suspend hostilities, to see what can be done, if any thing, by negotiations of some sort. This is one step in the right direction. To such a convention of the States I should have no objection, as a peaceful conference and in-terchange of views between equal and sovereign Powers, just as the convention of 1787 was called and assembled. The proper constituted authorities at Washington and Richmond, the duly authorized representatives of the two confederacies of States now at war with each other, might give their assent to such a proposition. Good might result from it. It would be an appeal on both sides from the sword to reason and justice. All wars which do not result in the extinction or extermination of one side or the other From the discussion or interchange of views in such a Convention, the history as well as the true nature of our institutions and the relation of the States toward each other and towards the Federal head, would doubtless be

constant vigilance and jealousy, but it has often required the greatest privations and sufferings and sacrifices that people of States are ever subjected to. Through such an ordeal we are now passing. Through a like and even se-verer ordeal our ancestors passed in their struggle for the principles which it has devolved upon us thus to defend

But, great as our sufferings and sacrifices have been and are, to which you allude, they are as yet far short of the like sufferings and sacrifices which our fathers bore with patience, courage, and fortitude in the crisis that tried men's souls in their day. These are the virtues that sustained them in their hour of need. Their illustrious and glorious example bids us not to under estimate the price less inheritance they achieved for us at such a cost of treasure and blood. Great as are the odds we are struggling against, they are not greater than those against which they successfully struggled. In point of reverses our condition is not to be compared with theirs. Should Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, and even Petersburg and Richmond fall, our condition would not then be worse or less heach! even Petersburg and Richmond fall, our condition would not then be worse or less hopeful than theirs was in the darkest hour that rested on their fortunes. With wisdom on the part of those who control our destiny in the Cabinet and in the field, in husbanding and properly wielding our resources at their command, and in securing the hearts and affections of the people in the great cause of right and liberty for which we are struggling, we could suffer all these loses and calamities, and greater even, and still tri-

At present, however, I do not see, as I stated in the outset, that you or I, or any number of persons in our position, can do any thing towards inaugurating any new movement looking to a peaceful solution of the present strife. The war on our part is fairly and entirely defensive in its character. How long it will continue to be thus wickedly and mercileasly waged against us depends upon the people of the North. Georgia, our own State, to whom we owe allegiance, has with great unanimity pro-claimed the principles upon which a just and permanent peace ought to be sought and obtained. The Congress of the Confederate States has followed with an endorsemen of these principles. All you and I, and others in our position, therefore, can do on that line at this time is to sus tain the movement already inaugurated, and, to the most of our ability, to hold up these principles as the surest hope of restoring soundness to the public mind of the North, as the brazen serpent was held up for the healing of Israel in the wilderness. The chief aid and encour agement we can give the peace party at the North is to keep before them these great funcamental principles and truths, which alone will lead them and us to permanent and lasting peace, with possession and enjoyment of con-stitutional liberty. With these principles once recognised, the future would take care of itself, and there would be no more war so long as they should be adhered to. All questions of boundaries, confederacies, and union or union would naturally and easily adjust themselves, according to he interests of parties and the exigencies of the time Herein lies the true law of the balance of power and the harmony of States. Yours, respectfully,
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

THE DEVASTATION IN THE VALLEY.

NEAR STRASBURG, (VA.) OCTOBER 8, 1861. At the close of my hurried despatch of last evening the advance train from Gen. Sheridan's army was passing this point, on its way down the valley to Harper's Ferry. The fact that the army was falling back and would be at Strasburg during the day became known in the forenoon, and the large supply train in charge of Col. Currie, of the 133d New York, also commanding a brigade as an escort, had been ordered to halt here to await its arrival, and thus save unnecessary marching. Soon cattle and wagons began to arrive and pass us. The supply train was immediately parked near Cedar Creek, and the train, containing the families of refugees of all ages, sexes, and conditions, crossed over the creek and took the pike towards Martinsburg.

From these, as well as officers having charge of the train, it seen became generally known that Gen. Sheridan was moving his whole army back on this place; not because he was compelled to retire, but for important reasons best known to himself and others now controlling the movements of the great army of the Union.

I learned from the most unquestioned sources, also, that stacks; all subsistence for a future rebel army in this valley, of whatever kind; all granaries and mills, were being for the burning of houses, or have such orders been sancalong the whole route of march, from Staunton to Woodstock. The valley from mountain to mountain was consequently

the scene of a configration, such as has not been witnessed during this rebellion. It was not a measure of retaliation for the wanton destruction of Northern towns and of the valley. Few barns and stables have escaped. The roperty, as has been falsely supposed, but was a stern necessity of war, the full bearings of which will be better hogs, sheep, cows, oxen-nearly five thousand head in seen and appreciated in the light of the great campaign vet before us.

All families who desired to do so were provided with transportation North, with so much of their household effects and such quantity of provisions as their necessities required.

The amount of subsistence and forage thus destroyed is f course immense, and, while it falls heavily upon individuals, will be felt most severely by the rebel army now swaiting, in and around Richmond, the opportunity to sweep these large stores of grain and forage into their lap. To them it is a crushing blow, and effectually closes the Valley of the Shenandoah-this "race-course of the two armies "-at least for one year to the occupation of the rebel army, or to its use for any purposes, unless they of nearly starving people are going North. Our trains bring with them the necessary subsistence-a thing now repdered impossible.

The nests of guerrillas which have here found such am ple scope and verge for the practice of their nefarious pursuits will also be broken up, as they can no longer live on the fat of the land while plying the vocation of robbery and murder upon unarmed and unsuspecting people. Upon the secret allies of this banditti this chastisement falls with

Those who cherish loyal sentiments will acquiesce in any measure, however seemingly harsh, which may contribute to bring to a more speedy termination this most auseless, most bloody, and most inexcusable conspiracy and rebellion against a good Government. Had this and kindred measures of safety been adopted at the outset of the navy yard, and the feeling of the people here, as well the war—supposing the people to have been prepared for as the spirit of the Administration, will be seen from what and rebellion against a good Government. Had this and it-the war would have long since been brought to a close, at least so the officers of longest and largest experience believe. Many cases of individual suffering will undoubtedly arise, and the innocent will suffer with the guilty : but a restored country will ultimately mete out full justice, and it is believed will vindicate the wisdom as well as the humanity of the measures now adopted.

Five thousand stacks of wheat and forage are estimated to have been destroyed between Harrisonburg and Staunton, a distance of twenty-five miles, and also a large number of flouring mills and barns. This is the most fertile portion of this most beautiful Valley. Between Rockingham and Martineburg the same programme will be carried ham and Martineburg the same programme will be carried out, but the number of mills, and the richness and the extent of the produce will not compare with Rockingham cast my vote for McClellan, and my two sons, if living, and Augusta counties.

To-day a heavy southwest gale has been blowing, which has given wings to flames, and in some instances houses and other buildings not intentionally doomed to destruction have fallen a prey to the devouring element. As the cavalry came up to the town of Woodstock, said to be a notorious secession place, a large barn in the outskirts of the town was fired, and in consequence of the high wind the

en route, the Sixth Corps, with its long train, togethe with almost interminable droves of cows, sheep, and other live stock, which had been driven before the army from

out the valley. The Valley of the beautiful Shenandoah, from near the Natural Bridge to the gallows tree of John Brown, is a desolation. Alse! that the peaceful invocation of Whittier, for lack of timely repentance, should not have been answered:

"Oh, never may these blue-ridged hills
The Northern rifle hear.
Or see the light of blazing homes
Flash on the negro's spear;
But let the bright winged angel, Truth.
Her guarded passes scale,
To show that Right is more than Might,
And Justice more than Mail."

It remained not for the lowly victim of long oppression but for a whole nation, in the exercise of the dread neces sities of war, to give realization to the almost prophetic words of the great poet of New England. The day, like that on which the old hero of Harper's

"Stooped between the jeering ranks And kissed the negro's child,"

as they led him out to die, has been cold, bitter cold. The keen northwester, frosty as the very breath of winter, sweeping down as if from the snow-clad Alleghanies, and clouds of whirling, eddying dust, mingle with storms of hail and snow, and with the smoke of general conflagration to darken the heavens, and to render the day one of the most dreary which has ever been witnessed in the Shenandoah.

FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.

Extracts from Correspondence of the New York World. HEADQ'RS ARMY UNDER GEN. SHERIDAN. Suturday, October 8, 1864.

Desolation-desolation every where! For the past three days the Army of the Shenandeah has been falling back from Harriconburg, destroying every thing along the valley in the shape of forage and provisions, as it had previously destroyed that between Harrisonburg and Staunton. From Staunton back to Strasburg this once magnificent, blooming "garden of Virginia" is almost a desert. Of all the horrors of war this horror is the greatest. I shall find it impossible even to indicate what frightful wrath and suffering have descended upon these people and these lands.

It was fortunate that no further necessity existed for direct offensive operations against Early's army. The victories won at Winchester and Fisher's Hill have so thoroughly broken up and scattered that force that there was no great, massive body of it left to contend with. It is confidently believed that a reorganization of the army which we have recently been fighting is next to impossible. Large numbers of the men comprising that army are natives of the valley, and during its retreat took the liberty of retreating to their homes and into the mountains. The old Stonewall brigade was made up almost entirely of these men. They have been coming into our lines and giving themselves up at the rate of forty or fifty per day. There was, then, in the absence of a proper warranty for proceeding further, no actual necessity for remaining far away from the base of supplies, but as the possibility still existed that the rebels would send another army up the valley, the long talked of long threatened measure for rendering the subsistence of such a force upon the country impossible

The beginning of the work was recorded in what you have already received. It has been continued during the three days' march from Harrisonburg to Strasburg, where the army is to-night encamped. Through all the days the atmosphere, from horizon to horizon, has been black with the smoke of a hundred conflagrations, and at night a gleam, brighter and more lurid than sunset, has shot from every verge. The orders have been to destroy all forage in stacks and barns, and to drive the stock before for the subsistence of the army. The execution of these orders has been thorough, and in some instances, where barns. near dwelling houses, have been fired, has resulted in the destruction of the latter. In no instance, except in that all the barns containing forage or grain; all wheat and hay of the burning of dwellings within five miles, in retaliation for the murder of Lieut. Meige, have orders been issued destroyed by orders from Gen Sheridan; and that this tioned by Gen. Sheridan. Such wholesale incendiarism order had been rigidly enforced throughout the valley could not be pursued, however, without undue license baing taken by the worst class of soldiers, and there have been frequent instances of rascality and pillage.

Indiscriminating, (for with such swift work discrimination is impracticable,) relentless, merciless, the torch has done its terrible business in the centre and on either side gardens and corn fields have been desolated. The cattle. all-have been driven from every farm. The poor, alike with the rich, have suffered. Some have lost their all. The wailing of women and children, mingling with the crackling of flames, has sounded from scores of dwellings. I have seen mothers weeping over the loss of that which was necessary to their children's lives, setting aside their own, their last cow, their last bit of flour pilfered by stragglers, the last morsel they had in the world to eat or drink. Young girls, with flushed cheeks, and pale with tearful or tearless eye, have pleaded with and cursed the men whom the necessities of war have forced to burn the buildings reared by their fathers and turn them into paupers in

The completeness of the desolation is awful. Hundreds are crowded with them. They line the wayside. Hundreds more are coming; not half the inhabitants of the valley can subsist on it in its present condition. Absolute want is in mansions used in other days to extravagant luxury. A family, consisting of an old man and lady, two girls, and a boy, only a short distance from the spot where I am writing, had to-night only a little bread and a little sugar which they had purchased of one of our soldiers, in their abode. Scores are in like and worse condition.

PROSCRIPTION OF MECHANICS.

From the Brooklyn Eagle of Friday.

There were fifty-three men working in the shop, and they were called in singly, when a fellow "dressed in a little brief authority," put to the men as they came in the following questions:
Are you a Union man?

Are you a member of a Union League? Will you vote for Lincoln or McClellan?

To these questions fifty-one of the fifty-three men answered to the first "Yes," to the second "No," to the ast "McClellan."

One man said: "I am a Union man, and I belong to no league but my whole country. I have followed McClellar through mud and bloed in Virginia, and I will stand by

him to the last."
Another said: "I am a Union man: I belong to no league;

Of the fifty-three men but two promised to vote for Lincoln; the others were discharged by an Administration claiming to know no enemies but the enemies of the

Let the working-men mark that no man can earn a dolar under this Administration unless he is prepared to sell

his principles with his labor. MEETING OF WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS.

town was fired, and in consequence of the high wind the flames communicated to the buildings and houses in the more compact part of the village. Seeing the houses exposed to destruction, the soldiers united in an effort to stay the progress of the flames. Meantime the advance cavalry of the enemy, which has been hanging in the rear of our forces, came up and opened fire of another kind upon them, which obliged the soldiers to desix their efforts and leave the town to its fate. Rumors, not wholly credited, are circulating that a considerable part of it was destroyed. It was a larger town than Strasburg, which had before the war about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

Later in the day yesterday, and also throughout the early part of this morning, the trains of Gen. Sheridan's army continued to arrive and push forward to Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg. The larger part of the wagons were filled, in some cases compactly so, with people of all sizes, sexes and colors—a continuation of the sad procession of refugees from a land cursed by rebellion and waste. Early in the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond Strasburg, passing, the morning I rode out to and beyond strasburg and the rode out to and beyond strasburg and the rode of the bronch of